Mapping Islamic Studies

Religion and Reason 38

Method and Theory
in the Study and Interpretation of Religion

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Mapping Islamic Studies

Genealogy, Continuity and Change

Edited by
Azim Nanji

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Preface

The volume was conceived after a Symposium held in London in 1983, under the auspices of the Institute of Ismaili Studies, to discuss emerging directions in Islamic Studies. There was also a concern to situate the debate about "Orientalism" in proper historical context and to evaluate its ramifications for scholarship that was being jointly undertaken by Muslim and Western scholars. The conversation continued informally, among those present and others, over several years and in different academic locations.

While we are grateful for the inclusion of Professor Mikoulski's contribution on Russia and the former Soviet Union, we are mindful, that other regions of European scholarship such as Italy, Scandinavia, the Iberian Peninsula and parts of Eastern Europe, as well as Japan, are not represented here. The growth of modern Islamic Studies in the Muslim world has been referred to and is expected to form a major part of a second volume.

I am grateful to the Institute for its encouragement to publish these papers and to Jacques Waardenburg for his support and suggestion that it be published as part of Mouton de Gruyter's series on *Religion and Reason*. The various contributors are to be thanked for their patience and agreement to allow additional ideas and papers presented elsewhere, to be included here. Finally, I wish to thank and acknowledge Susan Lewis for her assistance in the arduous task preparing a camera-ready copy for publication.

For the purposes of this volume, the system of transliteration of words from Muslim languages has been kept to a minimum and words or names which have a familiar English usage are retained in that form.

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Azim Nanji

Introduction

The study of Islam is both an ancient and a modern endeavor. The former has its roots among Muslims in a long-established and continuing tradition of scholarship and interpretation of their own faith. Among others, particularly medieval Christians, the study was motivated by polemical ends, aimed at establishing self-authenticity and pre-eminence, by attributing to Islam, often pejoratively, error or wilful misappropriation. The tendency has lingered on, though the medieval constructions and assaults on Islam have assumed different forms and emphasis. The academic study of modern Islam, on the other hand, grew primarily out of the Enlightenment tradition of European scholarship and interest in Asian and African cultures and peoples, and had assumed by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries some of the normative contours and institutional patterns that are associated with the general discipline of thought and expertise known as Oriental Studies or Orientalism.

The subject of most of the essays in this book, is an examination and a critical appreciation of this modern phase. They are intended as a contribution to the discussion of how the discipline of Islamic Studies, a branch of Oriental Studies, as it has come to be understood and practiced, evolved in its various historical contexts. They also seek to reflect upon the ironic effects, whereby "Orientalism" and "Islamic Studies", which emerged as European disciplines to study the "other" have themselves become texts and objects of study, as the "other".

Orientalism, Edward Said's critique of the discipline, its assumptions and practitioners, first published in 1978, elicited a steady stream of responses, some of which were denunciatory and hastened to defend the discipline and its authority; others, more self-reflective, began submitting the discipline to greater introspection and even rethinking in the light of developments in other disciplines. What is noteworthy, is that such a turn towards self-reflection, though stimulated in this case by someone outside the discipline, was by no means the first of its kind. Such a process has had its own

history within Islamic Studies and Orientalism and was part of a general trend in academic culture after the Second World War.

In 1953, a conference of leading European Islamicists was organized by the late Gustav von Grunebaum, as part of a larger effort, to examine the relationship among Muslims, and between Islam and the various cultures and civilizations, to which it had spread over time. This marked probably the first organized and self-conscious endeavor in recent times to undertake a historical and critical self-understanding of the discipline in the light of developing methods and theories in the social sciences, particularly Redfield's notion of "great" and "little" traditions. It was noted at the time that the methods and assumptions used to study the history of Islam lagged a century behind those used for European history. A year later, at another conference, Claude Cahen reemphasized the point, quoting Bernard Lewis to the effect that the history of the Arabs had been written in Europe chiefly by historians who know no Arabic and Arabists who knew no history. Cahen argued that a new direction was necessary, one that would go beyond the hitherto philological orientation and study Muslim society as a total integrated organism. The sponsors and participants of such conferences, which took place against the back-drop of events and changes in the Muslim world, noted and emphasized the need to better understand Muslim civilization and history, and thereby the social and political problems of the Near East. They were conscious that the assumptions and methods of past generations of scholars, though meritorious in their own right, had become increasingly outmoded and detached from developments in other disciplines, as well as the changing realities in the relationship between Europe, America and the Muslim world. The next two decades of the sixties and seventies represent for Asia and Africa the era of decolonization, nationalism and revolution, whose impact was no longer local or regional, but was becoming increasingly global. These were turbulent times in the academic community as well. A newer, more assertive tone emerged to which many scholars from the now so-called "Third World", allied themselves. It argued for the dismantling and deconstruction of established metaphysical

and epistemological systems and the "Eurocentric" institutional apparatus that accompanied them. This would not be the only straw in that wind of change, but among others it caused a questioning and revising of many of the assumptions of humanistic and social scientific inquiry into other cultures. This debate, whose contemporary games are played out within interdeterminate frameworks called post-modernism and post-structuralism, but also across disciplines in programs of "cultural studies", affected Islamic Studies only marginally. In part, this insulation explains both the defensiveness of the established community of Islamicists against criticisms, and the need felt by an emerging group of dissatisfied younger scholars, to escape from the narrower confines of philologically oriented scholarship to a more open-ended discourse, from which, in certain cases, they embraced uncritically the many new theories that had emerged. The community of scholars in Islamic Studies had indeed grown larger and more diverse and the subject matter too complex, to be contained any longer within one interpretive community. The debate about "Orientalism", reflected and heightened the ambivalence within the field. Its significance, in retrospect, seems to lie more in the way it highlighted this predicament through wider public discourse and by placing it within ongoing academic debates, than its particular claims and critique against European scholarship.

Said's claims and insights regarding the historical and ideological conditions necessary to produce a discipline such as Islamic Studies, intertwined issues of representation and construction of the discipline to reveal a Eurocentric pattern of domination and authority. At a time of cultural and political collision and preoccupation with assertions of identity and difference in some parts of the Muslim World, his linking of power and knowledge and his arguments against an hegemonic misrepresentation of Muslims by the West played into the hands of rhetoricians emboldened by its anti-imperialist and anti-Western stance. This narrow focus and the controversy the book aroused diverted attention from the scholarly task and opportunity to engage in a wider intellectual dialogue and exchange. The

theorizing and extension of the boundaries of knowledge was by no means limited to Islamic Studies. Broadly speaking, the process reflected the larger debate (some might say disarray) among various communities of interpretation in the humanities and the social sciences on the questions of the role of intellectuals and scholarly settings in representing and misrepresenting various human groups and cultures and upon the stability of authors and texts as repositories of meaning. This *Introduction* to the essays that follow has two purposes. Firstly, to situate Islamic Studies against the background of questions and issues, as they are defined within the contemporary debate, in cultural studies and interpretation of texts; and secondly, to relate the discipline's future development to the history of Islamic Studies in different parts of the Western world. In this way, it is hoped that the essays will be seen as an attempt to engage practitioners of Islamic Studies in the mapping of the discipline by focussing on its various formations in European and American contexts, while also reflecting upon and responding to questions about intercultural discourse and scholarly and other representations of Islam and Muslims. The essays are thus products of a review and a conversation, motivated by a desire to frame responses that seek to go beyond the constraints and assumptions of a collective heritage, as well as the deconstructive and skeptical tendencies inherent in some contemporary critiques that imply severe shortcomings in any past or present modes of studying and writing about Islam.

The first part of the volume presents a historicized framework, locating the growth of Islamic Studies within its plural and geographically diverse European expressions. The core components of the study of Islam, have their roots in the archaeological and philological German tradition of critical scholarship of texts and cultures. As with the study of Christianity and Judaism and other religions, Islam was studied within three major frames: the critical edition, study and interpretation of primary texts; the study of doctrinal and theological developments and thirdly, the historical growth of Islam and institutions such as the Caliphate. There also developed in due course, as each European power established trade and

colonies, a need to undertake studies of structures and peoples in their immediate settings, in particular the study of existing legal and social practices. While much of the collection of such information was an official task, it did involve individuals with scholarly interests, who subsequently helped encourage greater interest in the study of Muslim society, contemporary to them. However, the primary source of Islamic Studies remained textual (based on available and selected texts) and the mode of analysis remained philological (with Arabic, Persian and Turkish having priority). The history of European scholarship, as illustrated in the various essays here, was by no means monolithic. At times, it appears as competing and is certainly diverse. It also reflected the economic and religious involvement of these various countries and their own power relations within Europe.

However, the pattern of historical-linguistic scholarship on Islam, remained general for a long time and was often insulated from developments in other areas of humanistic scholarship, that affected academic trends in fields such as history and literature. The 1953 Conference referred to earlier marked somewhat of a departure particularly for the study of economic and social history and institutions. The focus of traditional Islamic Studies, the Middle and Near East, was shifted to include interactions between Muslims, Africans and other Asian peoples and current sociological and anthropological perspectives came to be employed in the analysis of the spread and development of Islam.

Two new global factors would affect the study of Islam in the 1960s: the institutionalization of the Cold War and the decolonization and creation of new nation states in much of Africa and Asia, including the Muslim region of these two continents. There was a corresponding development in the growth of higher education and research in Europe and the North America (accompanied by the migration of scholars and ideas from the former to the latter), and a transplanting of emerging intellectual trends in the theory and practice of scholarship. These factors highlighted attempts to study what were presumed to be the disorienting effects of colonial rule and the need

to develop institutional strategies necessary to address the challenges as well as asymmetries created by independence.

A colloquium held in 1961, the *Colloque sur la Sociologie Musulmane*, affirmed the need to refine methods and develop new concerns informed by social science. Baber Johansen, in discussing the development of Islamic Studies in Germany, reflects on the loss of the dominant paradigm of historicism, since the 1960's. The changes in German society after the Second World War, and the subsequent breakdown of the colonial system, led to University reform and a restructuring of Oriental Studies. Scholarly authority shifted to the disciplines of social sciences, with their promise of better understanding of the transformation of economic, political and social life at home and abroad. The same patterns can be said to have affected Britain, France, Holland and other Western European countries, during the same period. The Russian example (and that of some other East European countries) presents a special case. Dimitri Mikoulsky's outline of developments suggests the strong constraints of ideologically grounded scholarship of a different kind - moulded as it was by assumptions that governed intellectual and cultural life in the former Soviet Union. In its engagement with some countries of the Muslims world an effort was also made to infiltrate intellectual life in these countries with a competing agenda meant to foster the Soviet Union's hegemonic aspirations.

It is also during this period, that the study of Islam expanded in Canada and the United States, in particular with the establishment of area studies centres, funded by government sources and foundations. It has been argued that such centers particularly in the United States, while advancing the study of regional languages and cultures, tended to have their intellectual rationale subverted by the matrix of Cold War concerns, strategies and ambiguities. This led to a fragmentary approach that very often, separated and pitted those who were in the Humanities against their counterparts in the Social Sciences, studying the same region. The various uses to which the conclusions of Thomas Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (first published in 1962) suggested how even the most objective pursuits of

scientific knowledge, operated within contingent and historicized contexts. The presumed failure of "bias-free" assumptions and methods, came to be evoked in those Social Science disciplines that studied other cultures and societies. This undermining of confidence in the inherited paradigms was also exacerbated by the availability of many works by those who lived or wrote from the perspective of the "Third World". In time, as these ideas took hold, the construction of knowledge became linked to issues of power and representation. Existing textual authority came to be questioned and many pretentious and arbitrary claims came to be made for and against established "canons". Said's work was a reflection and a development of this trend. The history of Islamic Studies reveals, there never was at any time in the past, a fixed paradigm, that operated universally; the boundaries were constantly being revised, not always by design, but invariably, because the dynamics of Muslim engagement with their history and heritage, was changing, as dramatically, as the relationship of Europe and America, with the Muslim world.

The essays by Sarah Roche-Mahdi and the late Norman Daniel remind us that the creation, reproduction and representation of Islam in the West, have a long and complex history. They deal with a catalogue of distortions and stereotypes, provoked by attitudes of denigration and also of myth-making, born of nationalistic fantasy, whose political consequences go far beyond the initial flights of romantic or distorted images.

The insights of these essays yield lessons about how new perspectives might be developed about old questions of conflict and the imagining of enemies. The late Norman Daniel, embodied such hopes, an aspiration to create an academic forum for expression of the trans-territorial landscape signified by "Islam and West" seen together in all their diversity, and not just as two contending civilizational clusters, inhabited by fixed and irreconcilable differences.

The confused world of shifting perspectives and changing methodologies, reflected in the proliferation of books and articles on the humanities and religion in general, need a frame of reference and some theoretical

understanding of evolving scholarly practices. The essays by Professors Mahdi, Waardenburg and Arkoun under the theme "Retrospect and Prospect" offer a number of contexts within which to think anew the task of a future Islamic Studies. Their insights suggest some of the ways in which the study of Islam, as a diverse cluster of cultures and as a living faith in its present global context, might be studied. The abundance of current scholarship portrays the intellectual, spiritual and institutional pluralism of Islam, showing the development of a wide variety of Muslim societies within local and global contexts and illustrating the diversity that exists among individual Muslims, traditions, and periods of history.

They also suggest how we need to rethink ways in which we have geographically and intellectually mapped the Muslim world. Past legal constructs such as "Dar al-Islam" and "Dar al-Harb" have become irrelevant, which is not to say that they cannot be invoked for ideological reasons. The manner in which European scholarship in the past perceived the Muslim world, with a presumed center, the "Near or Middle East", led to the marginalization of large groups of Muslims who did not inhabit that geopolitical space and this marginalization affected the focus and practice of scholarship.

In addition to resisting the imposition of old boundaries, there is the caveat against present - mindedness and the undue focus on what has been termed "fundamentalist" expressions. While their relevance to contemporary politics and current affairs cannot be dismissed, it is individuous to make it the primary expression of Muslim identity in the modern world. There is among contemporary Muslims, as in all religious traditions, an inherent tension. One pattern expresses the growing differentiation in and separation of spheres and activity of life in which the inherited tradition occupies a place of differing degrees of personal and collective commitment. Another seeks to reintegrate all spheres within a totalizing conception of "Islam". Still others, seek broader intellectual, ethical and practical directions, without assuming a parochial or doctrinaire approach. The tools of intellectual modernity that are employed in all cases cannot be homoge-

neous. The task of scholarship is to further develop and refine mediating categories and tools of comprehension that allow us to negotiate the space between concept and practice, embeddedness and expression, past and present.

Perhaps the most encouraging trend in Islamic Studies in recent times is the cosmopolitan profile of the scholars and their methods in the field. The migration of European scholars to the Americas has been followed by the migration of scholars from the Muslim world to both Europe and America. As Muhsin Mahdi points out, one cannot easily separate contemporary scholarship in terms of "Western" and "Muslim". When combined with the rapid changes in communication made possible by advances in technology, such as the Internet, collaboration between scholars within a continent and across continents, has become much easier. This cross fertilization is reflected in the fact that Islamic Studies now radiates from within many departments and disciplines and finds expression in collaborative projects, institutes, journals and associations. This new constellation of interests and constituencies, has generated a profusion of scholarship and as the contributions suggest, augurs well for a transnational scholarly landscape.

The field of Islamic Studies will continue to be more diverse and encompassing in its scope, than in the past. There are many possibilities open for adding to its subject matter and methods, including the role of Islam as a cultural force of great diversity; the increasing public participation in society by women (whom contributions and role still await detailed study within Islamic Studies); the history of rural, agricultural and mountainous peoples of the Muslim world and new interactions among Muslims now living in the West. In this way, a vibrant humanistic scholarship can contribute to knowledge, linking a fifth of humanity that is Muslim, to others among whom Muslims live and with whom they share increasingly the task of building mutual understanding.

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Jacques Waardenburg

The Study of Islam in German Scholarship

> "The aim and purpose of our academic work is to break through the intellectual horizons of our society and to cast a glance into the world of the rising sun in order to improve our understanding of human existence and ourselves by investigating foreign cultures and civilizations".[1]

Since several publications - two of them available in English - exist already on the history of Islamic studies in Germany,[2] we thought this paper could more usefully offer a systematic approach to the subject. It will be discussed under the following headings:

1. The rise of Islamic Studies as part of Oriental Studies;
2. The principal German contributions to Islamic Studies;
3. Some characteristics of German Islamic Studies in general;
4. The present situation of Islamic Studies in Germany;
5. "Islam" in German Islamic Studies.

1. The Rise of Islamic Studies as Part of Oriental Studies

After the expansion of Classical Studies in Europe in the sixteenth century, the rise of Oriental Studies can be dated to the nineteenth century, although the scholarly study of Arabic goes back at least to the sixteenth century, if not earlier. Oriental Studies comprised the study of the languages, history and cultures of Asia and (North) Africa. They were based on philology in the broad sense of the term, that is to say, knowledge of a culture through knowledge of its sources, in particular authoritative texts. Oriental Studies was patterned largely after Classical Studies, and was nearly always concerned with the past. The reasons why this expansion of Oriental Studies took place in the nineteenth century are complex and cannot be considered here in detail. The economic and political expansion of Europe

into Asia and Africa was accompanied by a growing interest in their religions and cultures. Islamic Studies then arose as a distinct branch of Oriental Studies in the second half of the nineteenth century, at the time that the study of Oriental languages and literatures was recognized as an independent academic discipline at European universities. It took some time, however, before Islamic Studies in their turn constituted an independent field within the whole of Oriental Studies.

In Germany, up to the present day, studies of the languages, culture and religion of the heartlands of Islam have been pursued in what is known in the University as an *Orientalisches Seminar* (Oriental Seminar). Like Oriental Studies in general, Islamic Studies are independent of theology (including missiology) and unaffected by polemical and apologetical viewpoints. As a rule, Islamic Studies come under the Faculty of Arts, or one of the sections into which it has been divided, e.g., Cultural Sciences (*Kulturwissenschaften*) - and not that of Theology. The latter does not as a rule in Germany comprise Science of Religion (*Religionswissenschaft*) as an autonomous discipline, as is the case in, for instance, Sweden and Holland.

In the development of Islamic Studies everywhere in the West certain stages can be distinguished:

a) Islamic Studies presuppose an intensive study of Arabic as a language. An early German Arabist was Johann Jakob Reiske (1716-1774). Arabic Studies developed intensively in Europe from the beginning of the 19th century on, one of the masters in this field being the French scholar A.I. Sylvestre de Sacy (1758-1838).

b) Only on the basis of a solid knowledge of Arabic and other "Islamic" languages, such as Persian and Turkish, Urdu and Malay, could *textual* studies, including textual criticism and literary history, be carried out. Editions of texts are therefore considered a precondition for textual studies.

c) Familiarity with the study of the texts, in turn, is a prerequisite for the study of *history*. It includes the study of the earlier Muslim historians who wrote in Arabic, Persian and later also Turkish, and it demands a critical historical analysis both of the texts themselves and of the historical statements contained in them. The study of Islamic history may focus on the "inner" development of Islam, but it may also focus, for instance, on the "external" political, social and intellectual history of Muslim regions. The term "history of Muslim countries" is then preferable to "Islamic history".

d) Textual and historical research, in turn, prepare the way for the study of Islamic *culture* and *religion*. Among the many subjects covered by this may be mentioned the historical and philological study of religious texts; in the first place, the Quran and *hadīth*. It also includes the historical development of what may be called Islamic religion and culture, considered both as an "inner" development of ideas and practices throughout history and as part of the political, social and cultural history of the societies and cultures concerned. Such a study encompasses the understanding of the "Islamic" meanings of the phenomena, and pays attention to their implicit assumptions and explicit claims to truth.

e) The study of *larger Muslim cultural* areas forms an integral part of Islamic Studies, insofar as it takes the Islamic aspects of the cultures of these areas into account.

Much of the present state of Islamic Studies in the West becomes understandable against the background of this historical development of Islamic Studies. The history of Islamic Studies is a subject in itself; it may suffice here to refer to a monograph devoted to the subject and to a study which concentrates on five prominent Islamicists of the first hundred years of Islamic Studies.[3]

This general picture of the rise and further growth and development of Islamic Studies can be illustrated by what has happened on the German scene. German scholarship has indeed made important contributions to the development of Islamic Studies; a few scholars writing in German from other central European countries like Austria and Hungary are included here as well.

2. The Principal German Contributions to Islamic Studies until about 1950

German Orientalism in the field of Islamic Studies has a strong tradition. It is not unfair to a great number of younger researchers to state that the tradition would not be what it is now without the names of some early giants in the field. Of the first generation three names come to mind immediately: Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), Julius Wellhausen[4] (1844-1918) and Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), famous respectively for their research on the Quran, the early history of Islam, and the inner development of Islamic religion and culture. Of a second generation, the publications of Helmut Ritter[5] (1882-1971) on Islamic religious texts, and of Carl Brockelmann[6] (1868-1956) on the history of Arabic texts remain of outstanding value. Here also belongs the name of Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896-1957) who was able to situate Islam within the broader framework of Near Eastern religious history, and of a world history no longer conceived on Eurocentric principles. Wide-ranging research was also carried out by Enno Littmann[7] (1875-1958) who studied many languages and kinds of literature of the Muslim world and produced, among other things, a translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*. Of this same second generation some great scholars, forced to emigrate in the Nazi period, influenced Islamic Studies abroad decisively: e.g. Joseph Schacht (1902-1969) through his studies of Islamic Law; Gustav Edmund von Grunebaum (Austrian, 1909-1972) through his studies of Arabic literature and Islamic history and culture; Richard Ettinghausen (1906-1979) through his studies

of Islamic art; Richard Walzer (1900-1975) through his studies of Arabic philosophy. In Germany itself, Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933) and Jörg Kraemer (1917-1961) paid attention to the study of Islam within the framework of cultural history; Rudi Paret (1905-1982) is especially known for his translation and commentary of the Quran.

Names like those mentioned above stand for a special kind of "Islamological" culture, part of an elite "Orientalist" culture[8] occupying a recognized place in German life and society and enjoying an international reputation. Each one of these scholars was able to publish on many different subjects in the large field of Islamic Studies. They were personalities of intellectual strength, putting the highest demands on themselves as well as others; the more gifted the men, the higher the demands. Women at the time were virtually excluded from playing a significant role in the field, however. Research concentrated on the past rather than the present and personal involvement was avoided. The norms established by these first and second generations which had received their university education before 1933, have remained valid after 1945 in the work of German Orientalism in general and German Islamic Studies in particular.

Different university centres of Islamic Studies are the subject of special publications.[9]

A short survey of the main scholars who have made significant contributions to Islamic Studies, in particular before World War II, is appended at the end of this chapter, with their main publications indicated in English.

3. Some Characteristics of German Islamic Studies in General

In the German tradition, scholarship (*Wissenschaft*) requires a dedication which has sometimes had nearly sacred overtones. Being a scholar is not just a profession like others, and those who devote themselves to learning and scholarship adhere to the specific norms of this search for objective truth and cultivate an attitude of scholarly honesty. This, combined with

great industriousness and self-discipline, has given German scholarship its formidable strength. Scholarship enjoys freedom provided it remains within its own autonomous field, keeping aloof from politics and religion. Those devoted to scholarship have enjoyed prestige and practical facilities, so that, for instance, a University Professor could have one or more assistants who would serve the discipline by research and teaching, later also administrative duties, and enable him to pursue his own projects. Scholars of repute constituted a guild which occupied a recognized and prestigious place in society. The period 1933-1945 constituted a serious break in this tradition.

In contrast to most other European countries except for instance England, Germany had and still has a decentralized system of public universities situated in the different states (*Länder*) and universities could develop their distinct traditions and "schools", competing with each other. Institutionally safeguarded as they have been, universities can stand as fortresses over against each other in academic disputes. Doctoral dissertations and *Habilitationsschriften* have practically always been published in some form or another and have been reviewed by leading scholars in prestigious academic journals. The university professor has always taken pride in educating his best students to carry out original research under his personal guidance and the relations between the scholar-teacher who enjoys great authority and his students can be much more immediate than the sometimes austere external forms would suggest. In his lectures, the university professor is wont to present the results of his own original research.

What has been said about German scholarship in general is still truer of the difficult and demanding field of Oriental Studies. In Islamic Studies, which are part of it, the general assignment has been to discover hitherto unknown facts and to bring to light new sources, in order to resurrect objectively and critically the almost lost worlds of the past - ancient cultures and civilizations. Those embarking on Islamic Studies can be likened to explorers sent out to discover new land, having undergone an extremely good and hard technical training. In this training the linguistic aspect has been foremost, in the three main languages of Islam (Arabic,

Persian and Turkish) and usually also some other Semitic languages like Hebrew, Syriac, and even Ethiopian or Akkadian.

From the beginning of this century Islamic Studies in Germany, thanks to Carl Heinrich Becker, were conceived as a cultural discipline (*Kulturwissenschaft*). They exhibited certain features and assumptions inherent to European culture at the time, like the superiority of western civilization and the pride of the scholar's national (in this case German) tradition of scholarship. Culture, including Islamic culture, was recognized as something in its own right, but differences between cultures, as between religions, were stressed. Consequently, Islamic culture was studied as basically different from European culture in general and German culture in particular. In the study of Islamic culture there was also a certain predilection for the "classical" period and for the "higher" cultural expressions of this civilization. The same holds true for other cultures studied in other branches of Oriental Studies.

In Islamic, like other Oriental Studies arising in the nineteenth century, the accent on texts and history was very marked, so that these studies for long concentrated on texts, historical facts and the casual connections between these facts. The ideal was and is specialization but without losing sight of the whole. Such specialization led to valuable, focussed and detailed studies, but the demand of having a view of the whole often came down simply to mastering an extraordinary mass of facts, rather than developing multiple perspectives, logical interpretations or keen insights. The preponderance of the study of facts gave Islamic Studies in Germany a "realistic" if not positivistic orientation. Religion too was studied along the same lines.

As is known, Germany only had colonies between 1884 and 1918, during which period it had Muslim populations in its African territories. This colonial situation led to an increased interest in the contemporary Muslim world at the time, and as a result a Seminar for Oriental Languages (*Seminar für orientalische Sprachen*) was opened in Berlin in 1887. In 1908 a Colonial Institute (*Kolonialinstitut*) was founded in Hamburg, with a special seminar for the History and Culture of the Orient. Such Seminars

had corresponding professorial chairs. In 1912 a German Society for the Study of Islam was founded to study contemporary Islam and since 1914 it has published the journal *The World of Islam* (*Die Welt des Islam*, *Le monde de l'Islam*), which gives much attention to contemporary developments. In 1910 the scholarly journal *Der Islam* was founded as a journal for the history and culture of the Islamic Orient.

After World War I German Orientalism ceased to be influenced by problems arising from colonial policies, but it sometimes was perceived to be useful to improve relationships between German and particular Muslim countries. Although national feelings were not absent among German Islamicists and made themselves palpable for instance during World War I when Turkey was German's ally, German scholars collaborated in important international scholarly projects like the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the first edition of which also appeared in German, in five volumes (1913-1939), and the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* (8 vols, 1936-1988).

The painful period in Germany between 1933 and 1945 took its toll on Islamicists too. Some of Jewish descent like Paul Kraus, S.D. Goitein and Helmuth Plessner could emigrate, but many lives were lost, some professional libraries (e.g. that of the Hamburg Seminar) were destroyed and academic freedom ended. Not only were German Islamicists affected; the versatile Hungarian born scholar S.M. Stern, for instance, was also forced to flee. Between 1933 and 1945, a *Deutscher Orient-Verein* existed in Berlin. After World War II German Oriental Studies both in the Eastern and in the Western part of the country, as well as in Austria, had to begin anew.

4. The Present Situation of Islamic Studies in Germany

This subject is subdivided into the following themes:

a. University Institutions

b. Oriental Studies in general
c. Library Collections
d. Institutions and Organizations Outside the Universities

a. University Institutions

In 1960 a report was published by the German Research Association (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft;* D.F.G.) on the situation of Oriental Studies in the Federal Republic.[10] It stated that at that time all German universities except that of Saarbrücken had a Chair of Oriental Studies, adding that there were hardly any Oriental Studies outside the universities. Of the total number of 35 Professorial Chairs of Oriental Studies at the time, 12 were for Semitics and Islamic Studies, which were usually combined; there were moreover two holders of Extraordinary Professorships working in this field. On the basis of this report, the German Science Council in November 1960 recommended the establishment of 32 new Chairs of Oriental Studies, taking it for granted that each university should have four such chairs. It also recommended that Islamic Studies should be separated from Semitics.

Twelve years later, in 1972, the German Oriental Society (*Deutsche Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft;*D.M.G.) complained in a report that of the 32 recommended new Chairs for Oriental Studies only 21 had been instituted up to that moment and of these only three were for Islamic Studies.[11] The report also complained that Islamic Studies had not been separated from Semitics, that no independent Chairs had been created for Turkish, modern Persian, and the History of the Islamic world, and that there was an almost total neglect of Islamic art and of the history of Islam in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Indonesia. Since 1972 the situation has improved slightly. Turcology, Indian Islam and African Islam have been instituted at the less than twenty-odd Universities in the German Federal Republic, but measures have been taken to concentrate specific specializations at particular universities, both for research and teaching. The study-programmes of Islamic Studies at the different German universities are not

uniform, and very much depends on the particular specialization and interests of the person holding the Chair at a particular time. A comparison of the different programmes at German universities falls outside the scope of this article and we merely take as an example the particular programme of Islamic Studies which existed at the Albert-Ludwigs University in Freiburg in Breisgau in 1981.[12]

The programme concerns Islamic Studies in the Philosophical Faculty, though at the time Islam was also taught in the Faculty of (Catholic) Theology by Richard Gramlich, a well-known specialist who moreover had been theologically trained. Islamic Studies in the Philosophical Faculty comprise the culture and history of the Muslim peoples. They are taught on a philological basis (with Arabic, Persian and Turkish as languages) and as a *geisteswissenschaftliche Disziplin* (as part of the humanities), which requires the study of written sources in the original languages and a general knowledge of the literature existing in the three languages mentioned. Islamic Studies constitute one section of the whole of Oriental Studies, the other sections being *Altorientalische Philologie* (ancient Near Eastern Languages), Near Eastern Archeology, Judaic Studies, Indology, Japanology and Sinology.

Among the aims of Islamic Studies, explicit mention is made of the *Überwindung des europazentrischen Weltbildes* (overcoming the Eurocentric view of the world). Islamic Studies can be chosen either with the accent on Arabic or with the accent on Persian and Turkish, but generally a speaking knowledge of all three languages is required.

The programme consists of a basic programme (*Grundstudium*) of four semesters (two years) and a main programme (*Hauptstudium*) also of four semesters for the M.A. degree. A full study programme of Islamic Studies including the doctoral dissertation comprises in any case 12 semesters or six years. In the basic programme all stress is on learning the three main languages of Islam and developing a reading knowledge of English and French. The speaking and writing of the "Islamic" languages is emphasized. In these two years students attend three introductory seminars (*Proseminare*: "Introduction to Islamics" (*Islamwissenschaft*), "Religion

and culture of Islam" and "History of the Islamic peoples".

The main programme contains one main subject (*Hauptfach*) and two subsidiary topics (*Nebenfächer*). Here a combination of the accent on Arabic and lesser knowledge of Persian and Turkish (or the other way around) is mandatory, except if ancient Near Eastern languages (*Altorientalische Philologie*) are chosen as subsidiary subjects besides Islamic Studies with Arabic as a main subject. In that case the student does not have to take Persian and Turkish; in all other cases they are obligatory. If Islamic Studies are chosen as a subsidiary, only two languages are required: Arabic and either Persian or Turkish. It is safe to assume that in practice nearly all students whose main subject is Islamic Studies study Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

While engaged in their main programme, students are required to attend regularly the principal seminar, focussing on sources (*Arbeit mit Quellen*), take the course "Modern Orient" and attend seminars where modern texts in the Islamic literary languages are read. They also follow language courses in Arabic grammar, Persian and Turkish, and, when preparing to write papers, participate in the seminar on "Problems of Research in the Field of Islamics". Attending the lectures on various thematic topics is also strongly recommended. Students are advised to participate in excursions and to spend some time in the Muslim world. They can begin work on a dissertation before their M.A. as soon as they are capable of carrying out research themselves.

Besides the Islamic Studies programme at the University of Freiburg we should also mention the Institute for Islamic Studies (*Institut für Islamwissenschaft*) at the Free University of Berlin. It is unique in several respects: it has carried out research not only on the Islamic past but also on contemporary Islam, and it has integrated the study of religion and culture in its research and teaching programmes. Moreover, it has engaged in interdisciplinary research devoting attention to modern social, political and economic developments in the Near East and North Africa.

The Volkswagen Foundation has developed since 1970 a special programme to support research on the modern Near and Middle East, and

made possible the establishment of two new Chairs at the Free University of Berlin, one for the Politics and Contemporary History of the Near East, and the other for the Economics of the Near East.

In Germany until recent times it was necessary for anyone intending to follow a scholarly career to submit a specific study (*Habilitationsschrift*) after his or her doctoral dissertation. From a bibliographical listing prepared by Klaus Schwarz[13] it appears that between 1885 and 1978, a total of 5,050 doctoral dissertations and *Habilitationsschriften* were submitted in the whole of Germany, Austria and German speaking Switzerland at universities on the area of the Near East, including Islam in the former USSR and China but excluding Pakistan, India, Indonesia and Africa south of the Sahara. Of this total number:

89 dealt with Christians in the area
42 dealt with Jews in the area
795 dealt with history including cultural history
40 dealt with philosophy
175 dealt with religion and theology

Most of these dissertations and *Habilitationsschriften* have been published and are accessible for research purposes.

b. Oriental Studies in General

During the 1960s and 1970s powerful incentives were offered for the development of German Oriental Studies. We mentioned the 1960 Report by the German Research Association (D.F.G., see n. 10) on Oriental Studies, which appeared as part of a whole series of reports on the situation of different fields of scholarship in the German Federal Republic. This Report also drew attention to the special problems which arise out of the tension between the established historical-philological tradition of Oriental Studies and the increasing interest in the contemporary problems of Asian and African countries, stimulated by political, economic and cultural

developments. It made recommendations to improve the situation of teaching and research personnel and expand the necessary material facilities in universities, libraries, museums and collections.

The 1972 Report by the German Oriental Society (D.M.G.) on Oriental Studies in the 1970s mentioned above (see n. 11), formulated ten propositions. They may be summarized here since they are of particular interest to our theme:

1) The discipline of Oriental Studies (subdivided into about 20 sections) comprises the academic study of the languages and cultures of Asia and Africa from the earliest time until the present day and forms part of the humanities (*Geisteswissenschaften*);

2) Its subject matter encompasses: ". . . Sprachen, Literaturen, Geschichte, Religionen und Philosophien, Recht und Gesellschaftsformen, Probleme aus Zeitgeschichte und unmittelbarer Gegenwart kommen in immer stärkerem Masse hinzu. Selbstverständliche Voraussetzung für wissenschaftliches Arbeiten auf allen diesen Gebieten ist eine gründliche sprachliche Ausbildung" (p. 3/4).

3) The relevance of Oriental Studies to society is explained as follows: ". . . they deepen our understanding of the peoples of Africa and Asia, especially at the present time, in view of their discovery of themselves in different ways and of the changes taking place in their cultures. They contribute to the overcoming of traditional Eurocentric thinking and the misrepresentation of the world to which such thinking can easily lead. The role of the Orientalist is that of an irreplaceable intellectual mediator (*unersetzlicher geistiger Mittler*) without imperialistic or colonialist links".

4) After a relatively favorable development in the Federal Republic of Germany, Oriental Studies are threatened as far as academic posts are concerned.

5) At present, major tasks together with concomitant responsibilities, confront Oriental Studies and there are important themes to which research should devote itself.

6) Among such tasks and themes are:

"-Untersuchungen zu Gegenwartsproblemen Asiens und Afrikas,
-Sicherung gefährdeten Materials - jeder Art - zur Kultur der Völker Asiens und Afrikas (das oft gerade durch ihre heutigen sozio-ökonomischen Wandlungen gefährdet ist),
-die Erschliessung von Quellen zur Kultur-, Sozial-und Geistesgeschichte,
-die Rolle der Religionen und Denksysteme im Kulturwandel,
-die Entwicklung von Lehrmaterial und ehrprogrammen,
-vergleichende Untersuchungen von Kulturen und Gesellschafts strukturen,
-die Übersetzung bedeutender, repräsentativer literarischer und wissenschaftlicher Werke aus orientalischen Sprachen,
-die Mithilfe bei der Erarbeitung gegenwartskundlicher Hand bücher. Für die unaufschiebbare Auseinandersetzung mit den Problemen einer immer enger zusammenwachsenden Welt hält die Orientalistik unentbehrliche.
Informationen und Erkentnisse für Wissenschaft und Praxis bereit. Sie weiterhinungenützt zu lassen, wäre nicht zu verantworten" (p. 4-5).

7) Oriental Studies can develop subsidiary programmes (*Nebenfach-programme*) in the fields of history, economics and social sciences, while retaining their own fields of concentration (*Schwerpunkte*).

8) Only Oriental Studies offer a well-founded knowledge of the peoples and cultures of Asia and Africa.

9) There is a need for planning both research and the education of future specialists (*Nachwuchsbildung*):

-by an expansion of existing research institutes outside the universities,
-by developing special research areas (*Sonderforschungs-bereiche*)

A new central Institute for special research tasks should be founded, in so far as such tasks cannot be carried out at existing universities.

10) Planning of research in the section of Oriental Studies should not be at the expense of the possible creative initiative of the researchers themselves.

The 1972 Report further recommended that universities established in the future should also include Oriental Studies in their programmes, and that Oriental Studies should not be restricted to some universities only. It also dealt with the problem of future job opportunities for those who had finished their programme, recommending that they ought to have an applied subsidiary specialty to enable them to enter into the job market. It recommended that Oriental Studies concentrate much more on present-day problems than had been the case until now. Research institutes should be established in Asia and Africa, in addition to the Institute of the German Oriental Society which was set up in Beirut in 1961.

As far as the definition and status of Islamic Studies at universities are concerned, two expert opinions (*Gutachten*), which are anonymous and must date from the early seventies, are noteworthy. The first makes it clear that there is no generally accepted definition of the discipline of Islamic Studies, that its borderlines are not clearly fixed, and that there are no uniform and generally accepted programmes and examination demands. It constitutes a field of studies employing various disciplines. Within this field there is a line separating the purely linguistic subjects (including the learning of languages) on the one hand and the field of philology, literature and culture (*Kulturphilologische Fächer*) on the other. Co-operation with other disciplines should be left to private initiative and not be institutionalized, since the field of concentration (*Schwerpunkt*) of Oriental Studies should not be imposed from the outside. It would be helpful - as a kind of model - to consider all Departments (*Seminare*) of Islamic Studies in Germany as branches of one great "Near and Middle Eastern Centre" of the Federal Republic. A basic programme (*Grundstudium*) in the field should be available at all universities; on top of that, students should be

able to pursue a special discipline. The special demands of each particular discipline within Islamic Studies should be met; the knowledge of languages alone was not sufficient.

The second expert opinion makes it clear that no scholar nowadays can survey the whole of Islamic Studies, and yet no more than one Chair has been allocated for this field in any one university. Islamic Studies should be disconnected from Semitics, Turkish and Persian; separate Chairs are therefore needed. There is a need for Chairs of Islamic history since significant regions of the Islamic world are neglected in research and teaching. An important observation is that since Islamic Studies constitutes a young discipline, "positivistic" tasks - assuring the preservation of manuscripts, the development of the tools to study them, and the putting on record of threatened languages and dialects - should have precedence:

> "Die Aufgaben der Forschung sind Legion. Da die Islamkunde und Arabistik - etwa im Vergleich zur klassischen Philologie - junge Wissenschaften sind, haben positivistische Aufgaben besonderen Vorrang: Erfassung, Sicherung und Katalogisierung der Handschriften, Texteditionen, Lexikographie, Aufnahme der Dialekte, die durch den Einfluß der Massenmedien nivelliert werden und zum Teil aussterben".

c. Library Collections

Two libraries in the Federal Republic are particularly famous for their manuscript collections in Oriental Studies: the Bavarian State Library in Munich (founded in 1558) and the West German Library (the old Prussian State Library founded in 1661) in Marburg. The Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen should also be mentioned for its manuscript holdings. Many other libraries possess manuscripts as well, and since 1957 a project has been carried out to catalogue those manuscripts (around 25,000) which do not figure in the existing Oriental manuscript catalogues in Germany.

There are about seventeen specialized library holdings at German universities, two of which should be mentioned here. The Near and Middle East Collection at the University Library in Tübingen, for instance, has a number of very old printed Arabic books.[14] After World War I it received special funds for the acquisition of books on Oriental Studies and after World War II it was chosen - in the terms of a programme initiated by the German Research Association (D.F.G.) in 1952 and involving 33 libraries - to develop a special subject collection (*Sondersammelgebiet*) in the fields of Near and Middle Eastern Studies and Indology, as well as, for instance, science of religions (*Religionswissenschaft*) and theology. This means that the Tübingen Library has the task of acquiring all materials published in the world about or in the Near and Middle East (except in the field of the natural sciences) with special funds provided by the German Research Association (D.F.G.). Tübingen was also designated the home for a large number of Arabic manuscripts which before 1945 had belonged to the collection in Berlin.

A second specialized library holding belongs to the Department for the History and Culture of the Near East at the University of Hamburg.[15] It had to be completely rebuilt after its destruction and loss of holdings in World War II and has now a stock of more than 40,000 volumes. In addition, the State and University Library in Hamburg has its own holdings including microfilms in the field of Islamic Studies.

d. Institutions and Organizations outside the Universities

Four kinds of institutions deserve mention here because of their importance for Islamic Studies in the wider sense of the word:

1) The Academies of Sciences (*Akademien der Wissenschaften*) of the different States (*Länder*) of the Federal Republic, and in particular the Committee for Orientalism (*Orientalische Kommission*) of the Academy of Sciences and Literature in Mainz, stimulate research, but they do not provide posts. They are able, however, to publish scholarly communica-

tions.

2) The German Research Association (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, D.F.G.) is an official body created to support and stimulate scholarly research in the Federal Republic. It is able to allocate funds to carry out research projects in the field of Islamic Studies at German universities, but such allocations are given for a limited period only.

3) The German Orient Institute (*Deutsches Orient-Institut*),[16] an independent foundation in Hamburg, is active in research on present-day developments in the Middle East. It is connected with another foundation in Hamburg, the German Overseas Institute (*Deutsches Übersee-Institut*). The German Orient Institute has an extensive Newspaper and Journal Collection, supports research and has several publications:

   -the series *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Orient-Instituts*
   -a series of books
   -a series of offprints

The German Orient Institute is closely connected with a documentation centre on the modern Orient. This *Dokumentations-Leitstelle Moderner Orient* has several publications under the umbrella of the German Orient Institute. These publications include different kinds of bibliographies and bulletins with information on current topics and events.

The German Orient Institute is also connected with the publication of the well-known journal *Orient* which is devoted to the contemporary history of Muslim countries and is formally published by the Near and Middle East Association in Hamburg. It also publishes articles in English.

4) The *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* which was founded in Berlin in 1887 has been mentioned above. It ceased to exist in 1935 but was reopened in Bonn in the fall of 1959. Its task is to teach the most

important living Oriental languages for practical use in a four-year study programme and to give instruction in the culture and society of different peoples in the East. The main *organizations* and *publications* in Germany of interest for Islamic Studies are listed in Appendix B.

The unification of East and West Germany in 1991 has added several centres of Islamic Studies to those existing in the Federal Republic. Special mention should be made of the Humboldt University in Berlin and the Universities of Leipzig and Halle. In Halle there is also the precious library of the German Oriental Society (D.M.G.).[17]

5) "Islam" in German Islamic Studies

Finally, the question should be asked: how does Islam look when studied in German Orientalism? The same question should be put with regard to studies in France and Britain - and for that matter the U.S.A., the former Soviet Union, and other countries.

In Germany, as elsewhere, a number of scholars prefer to speak either of Oriental Studies in general or of Middle Eastern Studies rather than of Islamic Studies. They stress the fact of studying specific culture zones in regional or geographic terms. Others choose a disciplinary approach and speak of the historical, anthropological or sociological study of specific societies and of the study of the literatures in specific languages. Others again consider Islam to be the determining factor in these societies and are inclined to pay special attention to it, its history, contents and variations, preferring to speak of "Islamic" Studies (*Islamwissenschaft*). This term, by the way, should not be used for the study of language and literature only. But whatever the name, the way the facts are studied is largely the same, so that the discussion about the name of the discipline has a mainly academic character, largely dependent on the attention one wants to give to the Islamic aspects of the subject-matter. Indeed, the ascertainment of facts and casual connections between such facts constitutes at present the main imperative of Oriental Studies in Germany as elsewhere. And the

"Oriental" visitors or readers may very well feel that their society, culture and religion are being reduced entirely to facts, and may wonder what contributions the technicalities of scholarly engineering can make to an understanding of the values by which people live. They may even protest against what might be seen as a degradation of social and cultural hopes and aspirations and the living faiths of people.

Scholarly discussions among German Orientalists are mostly of a highly technical nature and mainly concern specific linguistic, literary and historical problems. Islamic Studies are no exception; here, too, fundamental revisions of current research problems, methods and procedures, or the exploration of essentially new, interpretations, hypotheses and theoretical frameworks are relatively rare. To be sure, there were scholars like Carl Heinrich Becker[18] and Jörg Kraemer [19]who discussed broader issues of Islamic culture and the place of Islam in cultural history. But their theoretical concerns found little following among specialists who held facts, rather than their interpretation, that is to say constructed meaning, to be decisive in research.

The same tendency can be ascertained in German studies of Islam as a religion. It cannot fail to strike the observer that German Islamicists have hardly ever carried on any discussion about how to study the religious aspects of Muslim societies or the internal developments of the religion of Islam, taking into account the way in which these aspects or developments may have been conditioned by outside factors or whether they are the result of Islam as a spiritual, dynamic faith. Curiously enough, the history of religions as a discipline apparently has generated hardly any impulse so far among German Islamicists to articulate new ways to study Islam as a religion, except by studying Sufi or other religious texts.

This seems to hold true in particular for the study of the religion and culture of Islam in modern times. The studies of W. Braune[20] and R. Wielandt[21] are until recently the only major works on the subject by professional Islamicists and they cannot be considered as being inspired by the methodological concerns of modern *Religionswissenschaft*.[22] Besides the reticence shown towards interpreting religious aspects of Islam, the

classical literary and historical concerns of German Orientalism seem to stand in the way of a new and original vision being reached of what has been going on in the Muslim world in the last hundred years and what this has meant to Muslim groups and societies. The work of Annemarie Schimmel has been a real breakthrough in this respect.

When we compared German Oriental Studies with the explorations made by scientific discoverers, we meant to hint at such points. Discoverers are assumed to be well-trained and equipped and when they begin, they need not necessarily have very clear perceptions of their own presuppositions and values: their first task is to discover new data and establish facts with the help of reliable procedures. What is difficult to explain in Oriental Studies, however, is that at a later stage so little intellectual effort has been made to put relevant questions, to integrate and correlate the collected data and enquire into the meanings they have for the people concerned.

The situation is the more astonishing since German culture has always had a speculative bent and German scholarship is reputed for its creative theoretical thought. Why precisely this German genius has been largely absent in the field of Islamic Studies is a problem. Should it be seen as a defense of pure scholarship against ideological aberrations and subjective engagement? The passion for the accumulation of factual data, the radical separation of facts and values (including the interpretation of the facts), the failure to question certain basic assumptions and procedures applied in the study of Muslim cultures and societies, a certain lack of communication with different kinds of Muslim intellectuals, their problems and their views of Islam today: all of this points to a certain rigidity in Islamic Studies in Germany. To the present writer who tries to combine both fields, it is for instance unclear why there has been so little creative interaction between the kind of questions put in the study of religion (*Religionswissenschaft*) and the kind of questions put in the study of Islam (*Islamwissenschaft*). Is scholarly research not primarily moved by questions rather than by amassing facts? Is true scholarship not characterized by continuously making self-corrections and readjustments to the subject matter studied?[23]

What kind of Islam is mirrored in Islamic Studies in Germany and elsewhere is such a question. A fresh look needs to be taken at the work of so many brilliant scholarly minds to discover what they saw as "Islam", and whether they all saw it differently - or had difficulty in seeing it at all.[24]

Things may change of course with a new generation of scholars who have personal experience of Muslim societies and have developed a sensitivity to their human dimensions. In this respect the German Orient Institute in Beirut and Istanbul can make an important contribution.

Notes

1. Rudi Paret, *The Study of Arabic and Islam at German Universities. German Orientalists since Theodor Nöldeke*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986, p. 5.
2. In addition to Paret's work, see also Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955. Islamic studies in the former German Democratic Republic and developments since 1991, have pending further analysis, been left out of consideration here.
3. Jean-Jacques Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident*. The Hague: Mouton, 1961, 3rd ed. 1970. Maxime Rodinson, *La fascination de l'Islam. Les étapes du regard occidental sur le monde musulman. Les études arabes et islamiques en Europe*. Paris: Maspero, 1980.
4. Kurt Rudolph, *Wellhausen als Arabist* (Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 123, Heft 5). Berlin (Ost): Akademie-Verlag, 1983.
5. Ernst A. Bücher, "Verzeichnis der Schriften von Helmut Ritter", *Oriens*, XVIII-XIX (1965-66), 5-32. Also as a separate publication published by E.J. Brill, Leiden.
6. Otto Spies, *Verzeichnis der Schriften von Carl Brockelmann*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1938.
7. Anton Schall, "Enno Littmann, 1875-1958," in *Bonner Gelehrte. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Bonn: Sprachwissenschaften* (150 Jahre

Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, 1818-1968). Bonn: Bouvier & Rohrscheid, 1970, pp. 338-344. For a list of Littmann's publications, see the book mentioned in Note 8, pp. 139-195.

8. For an understanding of typical Orientalist culture, see for instance, *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik. Lebensbilder aus der Feder von Enno Littmann und Verzeichnis seiner Schriften*. Zum achtzigsten Geburtstage am 16. September 1955 zusammengestellt von Rudi Paret und Anton Schall. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955.
9. See for instance, Gernot Rotter (ed.) *Deutsche Orientalisten am Beispiel Tübingens*. Tübingen & Basel, 1974; Peter Heine, *Geschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Münster*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974; Paul Kahle, "Das Orientalische Seminar," in *Geschichte der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität zu Bonn am Rhein*. Band 2: *Institute und Seminare 1818-1933* (Bonn am Rhein: Friedrich Cohen Verlag, 1933), pp. 173-177; "Erlangen - ein Zentrum moderner Orient-Forschung," *Unikurier* (Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg), Nr. 35/36, 7. Jahrgang, April 1981, pp. 20-26. Compare also in the book mentioned in Note 8 the commemorations (*Nachrufe*) of Georg Wilhelm Freytag, 1788-1861 (pp. 293-295, by Johann W. Fück), Carl Heinrich Becker, 1876-1933 (pp. 330-337, by Helmut Ritter), and Max Horten, 1874-1945 (pp. 327-329, by Otto Spies).
10. *Denkschrift zur Lage der Orientalistik*. Im Auftrag der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft und in Zusammenarbeit mit zahlreichen Fachvertretern herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Adam Falkenstein. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1960.
11. *Deutsche Orientalistik der Siebziger Jahre: Thesen, Zustandsanalyse, Perspektiven*. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, n.d. (1972). Cf. Dietrich Seckel and Anton Schall, "Die sogenannten 'Kleinen Fächer' an den Universitäten. Memorandum zur Hochschulplanung," *Ruperto Carola*, Vol. 54 (1975), p. 11-15.
    A survey of all centres of Oriental Studies in Germany with research interests in contemporary developments around 1974 is given in Rainer Buren, *Gegenwartsbezogene Orientwissenschaft in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Göttingen 1974.
12. Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg im Breisgau, *Studienpläne: Islamwissenschaft. Studienplan fur das Gesamtfach Islamwissenschaft*. Freiburg: Hochschul Verlag, 1981.
13. Klaus Schwarz, *Der Vordere Orient in den Hochschulschriften Deutschlands, Österreichs und der Schweiz. Eine Bibliographie von Dissertationen und Habilitationsschriften (1885-1978)* (Islamkundliche Materialien, Band 5).

Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980.

14. Walter Werkmeister, "The Near and Middle East Collection of the University Library of Tübingen," *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, IX (1982), 82-87.
15. A. Hartmann, "The Library of the Department for the History and Culture of the Near East, Hamburg," *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, VIII (1981), pp. 139-146.
16. *Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft in Beirut.* Herausgegeben anlässlich des 20-jährigen Bestehens. Beirut, 1981.
17. To what extent the unification of East and West Germany will influence German Oriental Studies in general and Islamic Studies in particular is impossible to say. Whereas in the former D.D.R. the role of Islam as a *religion* was left out of consideration, that of Islam as a *social factor* was stressed, and correctly so.
18. J. Van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker: The Emergence of Kulturgeschichte in Islamic Studies", in Malcolm H. Kerr (ed.), *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and its Problems* (Georgio Levi della Vida Biennial Conference 7). Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, 1980, pp. 27-72.
19. See for instance Jörg Kraemer, *Das Problem der islamischen Kulturgeschichte.* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1959.
20. Walter Braune, *Der islamische Orient zwischen Vergangenheit und Zukunft.* Berlin, 1960.
21. Rotraud Wielandt, *Offenbarung und Geschichte im Denken moderner Muslime* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Band 25). Wiesbaden, 1971.
22. Jacques Waardenburg, "Islamforschung aus religionswissenschaftlicher Sicht", in *Ausgewählte Vorträge, XXI. Deutscher Orientalistentag*, 24. bis 29. März 1980 in Berlin (Supplement V der *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*). Herausgegeben von Fritz Steppat. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982, pp. 197-211. Reprinted in J. Waardenburg, *Perspektiven der Religionswissenschaft* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag & Altenberge: Oros Verlag, 1993), pp. 181-195.
23. "Considering the mass of material to be mastered and the boundless mass of, mainly secondary, literature, the scholar must reconsider his position from time to time and ask himself whether he is not driving himself into an isolated position, and whether his specialized studies are not becoming an end in themselves". Rudi Paret, *The Study of Arabic and Islam at German Universities* (Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1968), p. 69.
24. For bio-bibliographical data of German scholars of Islam during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Erika Bär, *Bibliographie zur deutschsprachigen*

Islamwissenschaft und Semitistik vom Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts bis heute. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1985 (Three volumes appeared until 1994.)

Appendix A
Some Prominent Scholars

1. Arabic Language Studies

Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801-1888), pupil of the French scholar A. I. Sylvestre de Sacy. Founder of Arabic philology in Germany.

Georg Wilhelm Freytag (1788-1861), compiler of the famous dictionary *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (1830-1837).

Albert Socin (1844-1899), compiler of an elaborate card system for an exhaustive Arabic-German Dictionary. This card system is one of the sources of the dictionary of the Classical Arabic Language into English and German which is in course of publication now (*Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache*).

2. Textual studies

Gustav Flügel (1802-1870), compiler of a text edition and Concordance of the Quran (1834) and editor of the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* by Ibn al Nadīm.

Josef von Hammer-Purgstall (Austrian, 1774-1856), famous for his Turkish, Persian and Arabic literary studies.

Jozef Horovitz (1874-1931), author of studies on the Quran and Muhammad, initiated a card system on ancient Arabic poetry which is at present at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He collaborated with other German scholars in the edition of Ibn Sa'd's *Tabāqāt*.

Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), famous for his History of the Quran (1860). A new edition appeared in three volumes (1909, 1919 and 1938) with revisions made by Friedrich Schwally (1863-1919), Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886-1933) and Otto Pretzl (1893-1941). Bergsträsser started a project for the edition of an *apparatus criticus* to the Quran text.

Gustav Weil (1808-1889), author of an introduction to the Quran and a biography of Muhammad.

Ferdinand Wuestenfeld (1808-1899), editor of Ibn Hishām's *Sīrat al-Nabī* (1858-1860) and of Ibn Khallikān's *Wafāyāt al-ayān*.

3. Historical studies

Biographies of Muhammad were written by Gustav Weil (1808-1889) in 1843, Aloys Sprenger (1813-1893) who published his book in three volumes between 1861 and 1865 (1869), and Hubert Grimme (1864-1942) who described Muhammad foremost as a social reformer in 1892. Abraham Geiger (1810-1874) was the author of a well-known book entitled *What did Muhammed retain from Judaism?* (1833, Engl. tr. 1902)

Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933) whose historical papers, also treating the development and character of Islamic culture and religion, were brought together in his *Islamstudien* (2 vols., 1924-1932).

Carl Brockelmann (1881-1965), also known for his Semitic, especially Arabic Studies and his inventory of Arabic manuscript texts; compiled a well-known history of the Islamic peoples (1939).

Gustav Edmund von Grunebaum (Austrian, 1909-1972), migrated to the USA where he carried out a number of studies on Arabic literature, Islamic history and civilization, also with theoretical interests.

Richard Hartmann (1881-1965), contributed a number of historical studies, including some on contemporary developments of Muslim countries and Islam.

Alfred von Kremer (Austrian, 1828-1889), whose works include: studies on Ibn Khaldūn (1859 and 1879), a history of the dominant ideas of Islam (1868), and a cultural history of the Orient under the Caliphs (2 vols., 1875-1877).

Adam Mez (Swiss, 1869-1917), a private scholar in Basel, author of a well-known study of the Renaissance of Islam in the 10th century (1922).

August Müller (1849-1892), author of a study on Islam in the Occident and Orient (2 vols., 1885-1887)

Bertold Spuler (1911-1990), author of studies on Islamic history, e.g., early Islamic Iran (1952), the Mongol period in Iran (1939) and on the history of the Christian churches in the Near East (1964). Editor of the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* in many volumes.

Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918), author of several historical studies on early Islam:

Muhammad in Medina (al-Wāqīdi's *Kitāb al-maghāzi*, 1882).
Relics of Arabic paganism (Ibn al-Kalbī's *Kitāb al-asnām*, 1887, 1897).
Pre-Islamic Medina, Muhammad's Constitution of Medina,
Writings of, and missions to Muhammad (1889).
Prolegomena to the earliest history of Islam (1889).
The religio-political opposition parties in early Islam (1901).
The Arab Empire and its fall (1902).

4. Studies of the Religion of Islam

Ignaz Goldziher (Hungarian, 1850-1921), wrote extensive studies in German on many subjects of Islamic culture and religion, e.g.,
The Zāhirites (1884).
Muslim Studies (2 vols., 1889-1890); including a famous study on *hadīth* literature in Vol. 2).
Lectures on Islam (1910).
The tendencies of Islamic Quran interpretation (1920).

Richard Gramlich (Swiss, Basel), studies on Islamic mysticism and Shī'a thought.

Max Horten (1874-1945), studies on Islamic theology and philosophy.

Fritz Meier (Swiss, Basel), studies on Islamic mysticism.

Helmut Ritter (1892-1971), wrote many studies of Islamic religious texts.

Annemarie Schimmel (Bonn), numerous studies on Islamic literatures, mystical texts and Islamic religion from a phenomenological perspective.

Rudolf Strothmann (1877 -1960), studies on the Shī'a.

5. Studies of Islamic Law:

Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886-1933), specialist of Islamic law.

Eduard Sachau (1845-1930). This scholar is also known for having brought to light some major works of al-Bīrūnī.

Joseph Schacht (1902-1969) emigrated to Egypt, England, Holland and then the USA. Well-known for his studies on Islamic law, the origins of Muslim jurisprudence and provenance of *hadīth* materials in legal texts.

6. Bibliographical Work and Cataloguing of Manuscripts

Wilhelm Ahlwardt (1828-1909), composed a classic 10-volume Catalogue of Berlin Mss (1887-1899).

Carl Brockelmann (1881-1965), well-known for his inventory of Arabic manuscript texts, in 5 vols. (1898-1902 and 1937-1942).

Georg Graf (1875-1955, working in Rome), well-known for his inventory of Christian Arabic manuscipt texts, in 5 vols. (1944-1953).

Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907), well-known scholar of medieval Arabic texts written by Jewish authors (1902), author of an inventory of medieval polemical literature in Arabic.

APPENDIX B

Institutions and Publications

I. Institutions

1. The German Oriental Society (*Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*), founded in 1845, is the organization of all German Orientalists, with its headquarters in Mainz. It organizes regular conferences (*Orientalistentage)* every two or three years, publishes the journal *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* and the book series *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.

It supervises the German Orient Institute in Beirut which was founded in 1961. This Institute stimulates research by German scholars, keeps track of publications appearing in Lebanon and Syria, and inventories modern Arabic literature. It publishes a series of text editions, the *Bibliotheca Islamica*, and a series of monographs, the *Beiruter Texte und Studien.* An earlier local branch (*Nebenstelle*) of the German Oriental Society in Istanbul, which Helmut Ritter had headed during his work there from 1927 until 1949, developed to a full-fledged Institute in Istanbul in the 1970s, as a branch of the Institut in Beirut, with attention being paid to Turkey and the Turkic-speaking part of the Muslim world.

2. Institutions and persons working on the contemporary Near and Middle East have organized themselves into a working group: *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Vorderer Orient für Gegenwartsbezogene Forschung und Dokumentation* (AGVO). It publishes regular communications (*Mitteilungen*) which contain details about research in progress on the present-day Near East and which give practical information about current developments, conferences, publications, etc.

3. The Near and Middle East Association (*Nah-und Mittelost-Verein*) in Hamburg publishes its own annual surveys (*Jahresberichte*), and also, in association with the German Orient Institute in Hamburg, the quarterly journal *Orient.*

4. The International Society for Oriental Research (*Internationale Gesellschaft für Orientalistische Forschung*), founded by Helmut Ritter, with its headquarters in Frankfurt, publishes the annual journal, *Oriens.*

II. Publications

1. Periodicals

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, since 1855, the official journal of the German Oriental Society, with special issues as Supplements. A General Index was published in 1955, covering the articles which appeared during the first 100 years of publication. This

journal covers the whole field of Oriental Studies.

Der Islam, founded by C.H. Becker, since 1910. This is the leading journal in Germany for the historical study of Islam.

Die Welt des Islam/The World of Islam/Le Monde de l'Islam, since 1914; a new series number started in 1951. This journal covers the modern and contemporary history of Muslim countries and Islam.

Die Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Leipzig), from 1898 until 1944, and again since the 1950s. This journal contains elaborate book reviews and surveys in the field of Oriental Studies, including Islamic Studies.

Oriens (Frankfurt), since 1948. See I,3.

Orient (Hamburg), since 1959. See I,3.

Mundus, since 1965. This journal contains reports in English on recent German publications concerning Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Bulletins and Bibliographies on the present-day Middle East are published by the Dokumentationsdienst *Moderner Orient* mentioned above, in Hamburg.

2. Book series

Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, since 1859, under the auspices of the German Oriental Society (D.M.G.)

Bibliotheca Orientalis, since 1929. Some 30 text editions have appeared. (Not to be confused with the journal of the same name published in Leiden!).

Beiruter Texte und Studien, since 1964. Some 60 volumes have appeared up to now.

Islamkundliche Materialien and *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, since 1971 (Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin). More than 160 books have appeared up to now in a practical offset edition.

III. Special Projects and International Cooperation

Of the many items falling under this heading a few may be mentioned at random.

Since 1948 a number of volumes of the *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, written by specialists from different countries and supervised by Bertold Spuler, have appeared, with many books in the field of Islamic Studies.

Since 1957 a large project of cataloguing Oriental manuscripts in the Federal Republic has been under way and several volumes of the *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* have appeared already. A special project for the conservation and cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts elsewhere, funded by the Cultural Section of the German Foreign Office, is underway.

The major project of the *Tübingen Atlas of the Near and Middle East* (TAVO) has been in progress since 1969. It concerns not only the topography and geography but also the economy, social structure, architectural and other aspects of the region throughout history. A number of volumes have appeared already. A research project on *minorities* in the Islamic world has led to the publication of several volumes on the subject.

German scholars contribute to the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (New Edition) and participate actively in the Congresses of the *Union Européenne d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants*, the congress of 1974 having been held in Göttingen. In 1986 the International Congress on Asian and North African Studies - formerly called the International Orientalist Congress - was held in Hamburg.